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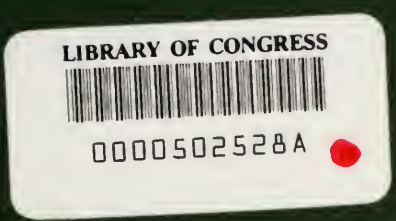

THE

GREAT AMERICAN QUESTION,

DEMOCRACY *vs.* DOULOCRACY:

OR,

FREE SOIL, FREE LABOR, FREE MEN, & FREE SPEECH,

AGAINST THE

EXTENSION AND DOMINATION

OF THE

SLAVEHOLDING INTEREST.

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO EACH FREEMAN OF THE UNITED STATES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS DUTY AT THE APPROACHING ELECTION.

BY WILLIAM WILSON, A. M.,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF THE COVENANTERS, AND CHANCELLOR OF THE PROTESTANT UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

"Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?"—MALACHI.

"He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."—MOSES.

"They traded the PERSONS OF MEN, and vessels of brass in thy [Tyre] market."—EZEKIEL.

"The merchandise of [Babylon] wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and SLAVES, AND SOULS OF MEN."—JOHN.

"He hath given the earth to the children of men."—DAVID.

"Let him that STOLE STEAL NO MORE: but rather let him LABOR, working with HIS HANDS the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth."—PAUL.

"The laborer is worthy of his hire."—MESSIAH.

Homo sum, et nihil humanum a me alienum puto; which, being freely translated, is, "Forasmuch as I am myself a MAN, I reckon nothing which affects or pertains to a HUMAN BEING foreign from, or uninteresting to me."—OVID.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men," etc.—DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

"We, the People of the United States, in order to ESTABLISH JUSTICE, promote the GENERAL WELFARE, and secure the blessings of LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."—PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE U. S.

"Be it ordained, by the United States in Congress assembled, that the said territory, for the purposes of—extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; of fixing and establishing those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which for ever hereafter shall be formed in said territory, etc. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory," etc.—ORDINANCE OF 1787.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to my conscience, above all liberties."—MILTON.

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PREFACE.

The right of free discussion, as it is inalienable to man, is happily secured by Constitutional Law to every citizen of the United States. Of course, the use which is made of it ought to be at once decorous, and for the promotion of the private and the public welfare. With this object in view, and under a sense of this obligation, it is exercised upon the present occasion.

The Author of the brief and hasty hints contained in the following pages, upon a subject which might well command and occupy several volumes, conceives that he owes it to himself to state, that he does not view the GREAT QUESTION which is now pending before the independent freemen of our country, nor write in relation to it, as a partizan. He has ever believed, and acted in correspondence therewith, that *party* ought to be held in abeyance to *principle:* and this conviction does not diminish, but increase, by the progress of time, and by the acquisition of experience. His intimate and cherished friends have always been found, indifferently, in both of the two great parties of Democrats and Whigs, which have formerly divided our citizens; and even now, when these parties are rapidly undergoing the process of decomposition and dissolution, he numbers among their remains, notwithstanding they are still clinging to, and battling for, DOULOCRACY, individuals, not a few, who are objects of his esteem and regard, as well as in the swelling ranks of the redeemed, and renovated, and living DEMOCRACY of our age. "Principles, and not men;" and "men as the representatives, and in order to the success, of principles," have been, and still are, his governing maxims. So, he thinks, it ought to be with all. This the present crisis emphatically demands.

He also feels himself uninfluenced by any geographical prejudices, as far as he can know himself and his motives. He loves the UNION of these States, both as a great whole, and IN EACH of its particular constituent parts; of it he has been accustomed to form no disparaging estimate, and to augur great and glorious things for it in the future; and for its welfare and prosperity, he would deem it his honor and privilege to labor and pray. He, as a matter of course, is altogether uninfluenced by "the loaves and fishes" of political office. Selfish ends he does not seek to promote. He knows nothing of North, South, East, or West, which would influence him to take part with the wrong, or shrink from the maintenance of the right. Love, and not hate or indifference, requires that "we do not suffer sin upon our brother," but, by all means, reprove and counteract him in his pernicious ways. If any section of our land continues to prosper, or the integrity of the Union be preserved, and its existence and operations be blessed, it must be by the prevention of the extension of slavery to Territories now free of the evil; and by the marked rebuke, through the medium of the polls, of the spirit which would, at this day, set up the unhallowed and unconstitutional claim: for, by a different course of action, we should incur the wrath of God Almighty, from whom all national, as well as individual prosperity and happiness emanate.

This Question being now, in the providence of God, distinctly before the American People, so simplified, and so separated from every other issue as that he who runs may read, and he who reads may understand, viz.: "SHALL LIBERTY OR SLAVERY, DEMOCRACY OR DOULOCRACY, TRIUMPH IN REPUBLICAN AMERICA?" is about to be answered by every Freeman at the approaching election, according to the vote which he deposits in the ballot-box. And we much mistake the spirit and sense of our citizens, as well as their lively regard for Liberty, and jealousy of everything which would even seem to interfere with it, if they do not speak, in tones of thunder, in favor of the former, and against every aspirant after office, from the highest to the lowest, who is a professed Doulocrat, or who is uncommitted upon this Great Question, which overshadows and completely absorbs

every other topic of difference at present existing among us. This Patriotism expects and requires. "He that is not for us, is against us."

This Question merits serious, religious consideration. Prejudice, and party-spirit and aims ought to be dismissed, or else the verdict of the mind in relation to it will be erroneous. The character and the fruits of Doulocracy are to be tested in the light of the law of God, and of the experience of our country. In order to this, these pages may contribute something. Their aim is to enlighten, solemnize, elevate, and direct the minds of those, especially, who shall use the Elective Franchise at the coming election, as well as of any others into whose hands they may fall. They may hereafter be augmented to a much larger work, as was the original design, by the full discussion and illustration of their contents. But at present, all that it is practicable, or that would be subservient to the specific end intended, is this synopsis, which the friend of Freedom may use as his *vade mecum*, or pocket-companion.

The author deems it proper also to state, that, in what he has written, he has endeavored not to be heedless of the language of Elihu, nor of the weighty instruction which it conveys to its readers: "Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person; neither let me give flattering titles unto man. For I know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my Maker would soon take me away." He has likewise sought carefully to avoid the opposite of flattery, which is defamation. There are no special relations subsisting between him and Mr. Van Buren; neither have they held any correspondence upon the great topic which causes at present such an unusual commotion throughout our country. He has never been one of his active supporters; although he has always been compelled to hold him in high estimation, both as a Man, and as a Statesman. Viewing him now as raised up by the Supreme Ruler of nations, to perform an important service for his country, and his age, he has spoken of him, not only without panegyric or exaggeration, but much within the limits of what he conceives to be the truth: partly, because he judged it not to be necessary; and partly, because of a conviction that prolixity, as his time would not allow of it, would be unsuitable to the occasion and its exigencies. And with regard to the other distinguished candidates, he would not desire to pluck a laurel from their brows. But, however worthy they may be as men, and in their own place, they are not fit for the Presidency, in this critical juncture of our national affairs.

Farther, and finally, he would state, that, in thus undertaking to show his opinion upon this the greatest Question of our history, since we became a nation, he has had prominently in view the promotion of the glory of his God, and the good of his fellow-men—especially of the American People. For his mind is deeply impressed with the conviction, that upon the decision of this Great Question in such a manner as to prevent the extension of slavery, our future prosperity, peace, happiness, and honor, if not our very existence as a united people, depend. Thus believing, he has spoken. And his earnest desire is to contribute something which may induce Freemen, of all parties, so to forget, at least for the moment, their personalities, prejudices, and minor, although they may regard them important, differences, as to stand up, and act unitedly, shoulder to shoulder, for their country and freedom, in this the hour of their peril. When the house is on fire, it is no time to contend about culinary matters; or about the manner in which the duties of the domestic economy were formerly discharged, or shall be discharged in the future; or about the persons of men, or the views which they may have entertained of these. The action then demanded, is the joint efforts of all for the extinction of the flames. This being accomplished, subordinate matters may be adjusted afterwards. The application of this will be obvious to all. And with these observations, he cheerfully commits the work to the blessing of God, and to the unbiassed attention of American Citizens.

Cincinnati, September 13th, 1848.

THE

GREAT AMERICAN QUESTION.

DEAR SIR: Allow me, as your friend and fellow-citizen, with all freedom, and sincerity, and earnestness, to confer with you in relation to the momentous issue now before the American People, and to your duty with regard to it at the approaching Presidential election. In doing so, under a sense of duty to God, to our country, to our age, and to our world, I shall, as one who must give account at that Judgment Seat from which there lies no appeal, and who has no personal feeling to gratify, nor selfish object to accomplish, studiously avoid speaking evil of any party or man; and endeavor to treat this grave Question, at once with brevity, and with the veracity, the dignity, and the solemnity, which are its own, and which it rightfully claims from all who consider or attempt to answer it.

You are already aware, and, I doubt not, that you cherish the feelings of a patriot upon the subject, that the greatest CRISIS in our national history has come upon us, which must be met by our citizens at the polls in the course of a few weeks; and which if met and decided in a manner worthy of freemen, will be the occasion of permanent and unutterable advantage to every section and interest of our beloved country, and, through her, to the world at large: but which if met and decided either with neutrality, or direct or indirect subserviency to the empire of Slavery, or Doulocracy, will entail upon our Republic, and her Territories, a lasting and deep curse and disgrace; as well as do much to realize the fears of the friends, and the wishes of the enemies, of free government, and of our happy and distinguished nation, to the extremities of our globe. Your influence and your vote, at such a time, may save or destroy. Give them cheerfully, I conjure you, irrespective of the trammels of party, as a Man, a Freeman, and a Christian, according to the dictates of the law of Nature, of Humanity, of the Constitution, and of the God of Nations.

As to how this crisis has reached us, you need not, I am persuaded, to be informed. It is generally admitted that it has been hastened and matured by the zeal and aggression of our Southern brethren, who have recently become distinguished as the propagandists of slavery, by the power, and under the banner of the government, of Republican America. Here all may concur, according to my judgment, whatever may be their views of the old

parties which are now dissolved, or of the measures of the present or past administrations. Vast territories are annexed to the empire, as the result of negotiation with Great Britain, and of the war with Mexico. Oregon has been always free. The others come to us free of slavery—even the Popish and unenlightened government of Mexico, having, in accordance with the spirit of the age, abolished it a considerable time before their cession. Over these extended and free domains our doulocrats would have the General Government to extend the empire of slavery; or at least to take the ground, that the ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from the North-Western territory, was unconstitutional, and to do nothing toward its prohibition from our possessions along the shores of the Pacific. The claim arouses the nation; and the exciting question is now to be decided at the polls. Doulocracy,* under which this land has too long been injured and

* The term Doulocracy signifies, *the government of servants*, or, as the South, and the apologists of slavery translate the word δουλος, *of slaves*. It is composed, as the learned reader is aware, of δουλος, *a servant or slave*, and κρατεω, *to govern*. It is most directly opposed to Democracy, which signifies, *the government of the people*, and is compounded of δημος, *the people*, and κρατεω, *to govern*. The former is not found in our English dictionaries, because, until lately, and in our own free country, no people ever professed, or were willing, to be under the government of slaves, properly so denominated; and, therefore, there was no use for the word. It will be seen, however, from this, that it is as pure English as the latter, and as directly derived from the Greek language, the common origin of both.

Our national government is democratic—a Representative Democracy. Of this, slavery is the direct and inexorable antagonist. For it would be as easy to conceive, and as proper to speak, of *white* black, or of *holy* sin, as of *democratic* slavery! They cannot both long co-exist upon the same soil; but the one must conquer and annihilate the other. It was merely tolerated within the States where it existed, as a domestic institution, and the foreign traffic in it forever abolished, under the penalties of piracy, from and after the year 1808, under the notion of a hereditary evil entailed upon those involved in it by past generations, who had very erroneous conceptions of the principles of civil and religious liberty, and by the British government, which it was evidently expected by our worthy fathers would soon die out or be abolished, through the progress of society, and the influence of our free institutions, when the Constitution of the United States was adopted, and in that very remarkable instrument. Contrary to this just and enlightened expectation, however, this sore evil has been rapidly on the increase ever since that day, in the Southern section of the Union, while the States lying North of Mason and Dixon's line have spontaneously abolished it; and the slaveholders, or doulocrats, although but a small fraction of the population, have governed the country, by the tame and shameful acquiescence and connivance of the Free States, and have actually furnished our Presidents, all but twelve years, up from the foundation of the Federal Government; and they now, having grown insolent and audacious by the power which they have been thus allowed, not from their own special merits, but exclusively from the sufferance of their brethren, seem disposed to claim this as a matter of right, and to make submission to their will, in this respect, an indispensable condition of the continuance of the Union. Hence the nomination of Cass and Taylor at her dictation, by the late National Conventions of Baltimore and Philadelphia, on the avowed ground of "AVAILABILITY" or expediency alone; because the South would vote for no candidate who was not bound to slavery, either by his own pledge, as the former, or by the guarantee furnished by his residence within her geographical boundaries, the infected district, and his being personally deeply involved in the sin and misery of practical slave-holding, as the latter. Opposed to this stand Van Buren and Adams, the nominees of Freedom. Old parties and issues are now

disgraced,—*that is, the government of servants or slaves*,—the 250,000 slaveholders being governed, through the medium of their fears, their avarice, and their ambition, by their slaves, and they controlling the Republic by the influence of party-spirit, and by threats of secession from the Union if they should not be allowed to rule,—had so impregnated the old parties of Whigs and Democrats, and was so politic and overbearing, that she dictated her own terms to the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conventions; and had nominated, as candidates for the Presidency, in the persons of Generals Cass and Taylor, such as would undoubtedly give the whole influence of their high office in favor of the views and the interests of the Doulocrats. Justly indignant at this, the freemen of our land, nobly bursting the bonds of faction, and determined to sink or swim in the Ark of Liberty, and on the side of the Constitution, and the acts of our fathers under it, assembled in that ever-memorable convention at Buffalo; and united, as one man, and with religious and enlightened enthusiasm, in nominating for your suffrage, two distinguished civilians, Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams, as the representatives of Liberty and Freemen, in opposition to the modern pretensions and the insufferable aggressions of Doulocracy and Doulocrats. These candidates, planted upon a platform of principles which commends itself to the cordial approbation of every intelligent citizen, stand fully and publickly pledged to employ the influence of their stations, if elected, against the extension of slavery; while leaving it as it exists in several States, to be regulated by themselves, as long as they may find themselves able to bear its crushing weight, and its blighting calamity. This is noble ground. The men who have, in existing circumstances, assumed it, are moral heroes. You, my friend, will cordially sustain them. The unfurling of the banner of a regenerated Democracy, is hailed by our citizens with peculiar delight, who amazingly rally around it. The old

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out of the question. Liberty and Slavery, or Democracy and Doulocracy, are really the only combatants, and must continue to be so until the question is finally decided which of them shall reign on this continent. Every man among us is, therefore, either a democrat, discharging nobly the duties of a freeman under the banner of Van Buren and Adams, in this campaign, or a doulocrat, doing service ignobly under the banner of Cass or Taylor. There is truly no other alternative. This invests the contest with peculiar importance, dignity and grandeur. And as, perhaps, there never was a case in which *names* were more emphatically *things*, it appears to me that it would eminently prevent confusion, simplify, and set the only issue now before the public mind in a clear and impressive light, as well as secure other fair and decided advantages to the cause of consistent Liberty and her rapidly swelling hosts, if the only parties at present existing were habitually designated by the friends of Free Soil, as Democrats and Doulocrats. And the state of the question being actually as it is here represented, it is desirable that the whole North would speedily wheel round into the lines of Freedom,—which it is also most reasonable to expect that she will,—for her own honor, the good of the whole country in general, and particularly for the salvation of the South herself.

parties are shattered, as if smitten by "the little stone cut out of the mountain without hands."

The merits of slavery and doulocracy being now fully and fairly before the public, and the view taken of them being calculated potentially to influence the decision of the GREAT QUESTION OF THE AGE at the polls, let me say a few words to you about these, as they are discovered when tested by every sound, political, moral and religious standard. What is the character of that thing which our Southern friends, and Cass and Taylor, with their partisans in the Free States,—if indeed they have many, or any, here at the election, considering the detestable ground which they occupy, and the insult which is offered to every Northern man in asking for them his vote,—would have you and me to extend over territories which are now free of it? Is it good, or useful, or becoming, or tolerable at all in the light of the nineteenth century, and in a land so favored by God with light, with free institutions, and with unexampled prosperity, and so proud and jealous of her liberties? And here we must glance at general principles and facts, which the mind may reflect upon, and reason out at leisure; for I have not time to argue them, were it necessary, which is happily not the case, nor have you to read anything prolix, on an occasion of high and laudable excitement, when freemen are called to prompt and decisive action. I ask you then attentively to consider,

THE SINFULNESS OF SLAVERY; WHICH, IN ORDER TO PREVENT MISAPPREHENSION, I DEFINE TO BE, THE HOLDING OF UNOFFENDING MEN IN INVOLUNTARY BONDAGE.

It is diametrically at war with the UNITY OF THE ORIGIN *of the human race.* You believe, I presume, that all mankind have descended from a single pair. This is most orthodox. Adam and Eve were the progenitors "of all living." To them the commandment was given by the Creator, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." "Have we not all one Father?" "God hath made of ONE BLOOD all the nations of men, for to dwell upon all the face of the earth." To these oracles, both of the Old and the New Testaments, enlightened Philosophy adds her consistent testimony. All human beings have the same physical, intellectual and moral constitutions. The enslaved and the enslaver are radically here alike. The differences are only of degrees and circumstances. This lays the foundation for mutual sympathy; and for the discharge of the offices of righteousness, kindness and love, among men of every nation and description. With all this, you know, slavery is irreconcilably at war. She first brutifies the man, and then affirms for her justification, that he is of a race inferior to that of those who have degraded and enslaved him.* And it is this brutal system which unblushingly

* The tone of the doulocrats, whether in the Free or Slave States, upon the subject of slavery, has, of late years, become much more in favor of it than it formerly

asks our government to propagate it in its territories, which are at present free of its unhallowed foot, and of its poisonous and polluting influence. You will not, by your vote, elevate a man to office who is not distinctly pledged to limit this evil, and to rebuke this pretension. You, a Northern Freeman, surely cannot.

It is at war with THE IMAGE OF GOD *in which man was created.* It is this, and not the mere killing, or taking away of the animal life, of a human being, which makes murder a capital crime in the sight of Heaven. "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man." This mysterious being, this microcosm, who stands in a close relation to all existence, whether above or beneath him in its extended scale; in his inferior nature, to the inanimate, the animate and the irrational creation, and in his superior nature, to angels, and to God himself, is indeed fallen into ruin by his sin; but still the wreck is noble. He is placed under a dispensation of grace by Jesus Christ our Lord; and for him God has a special care. And although he were a Cain, ill shall pursue those who do him wrong. It is this being, however, in which slavery trades as a chattel! You will, by your vote, do all in your power to arrest this.

It is at war with the LAW OF NATURE. No man is born a slave or a slaveholder, a δουλος or a doulocrat. Such unnatural and false relations only exist, by might usurping the prerogatives of right. Every man is born free of every other being but God. Hence, he has a right to dispose of himself, and his talents, and his movements, while his deportment is good, under accountability to God alone. With every attribute of this freedom, and with every line of the law of nature, slavery is irreconcilably at war. And it is this which asks, or commands freemen to

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was; instead of diminishing by the progress of light and liberty. As a specimen of this, I cite the following from the 1136th page of the 1st Volume of the 4th Series of "American Archives," which gives an account of the proceedings, in 1775, of the "Darien Committee," whose object was to put an end to the foreign and domestic slave trade in the colony of Georgia:

"We, therefore, the representatives of the extensive district of Darien, in the colony of Georgia, having now assembled in Congress, by authority and free choice of the inhabitants of the said district, now freed from their fetters, do resolve—

"To show the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motives, but a general philanthropy for all mankind, of whatever climate, language or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of slavery in America—however the uncultivated state of our country, or other specious arguments, may plead for it—a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dangerous to our liberties, as well as lives, debasing part of our fellow-creatures below men, and corrupting the virtue and morals of the rest, and as laying the basis of that liberty we contend for (and which we pray the Almighty to continue to the latest posterity) upon a very wrong foundation. We, therefore, resolve at all times to use our utmost endeavors for the manumission of our slaves in this colony, upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and themselves."

extend its dark domain, commensurate with the expanding wings of the American Eagle! You, my friend, will unhesitatingly and firmly say, NO. See that, by your vote, you contribute your influence to humble its towering, black, unnatural and hideous crest.

It is at war with the WRITTEN LAW OF GOD. This, the Holy Bible, discovers to man his proper rank in the scale of being, with his relations and duties toward his God, and his fellow-creatures. It is the Magna Charta of the rightsand liberties of the human race, over all the nations of the earth, as well as of the immunities and privileges of "the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." It is not more opposed to sin than to slavery. It is not less a fountain of liberty than of light. It is the grand instrumentality, provided by God, for the emancipation of the race from ignorance, and from social and political bondage. Shame on those lips which, in the name of Christianity and its Holy Ministry, have ever, for any consideration, attempted to vindicate or palliate slavery from the Book of God! Posterity will justly hold this in the deepest abhorrence. As well charge darkness upon the cloudless, meridian sun! Slavery sanctioned by, or consistent with, the Scriptures! How monstrous the allegation! But no. Their contemplated, just application, as none can rationally deny, will give liberty and happiness to all people and nations. They condemn and denounce the system of slavery, as a whole, and each of its constituent elements. It is radically at variance with every duty which they enjoin, and with every delineation which they give of what is well-pleasing in the sight of God; of true religion; and of the glory of the latter days, when Christianity shall have taken her full effect upon the heart and upon society. It is no creation or institution of God, but solely the child of human cupidity, depravity and abuse of power. The prevalence of the Written Law will eradicate it from our world. For it is the genius and design of the Kingdom of Christ to root out, and "pluck up every plant which our Heavenly Father hath not planted." The face of God is set against it: and it were altogether unworthy of him, and inconsistent with the mode of his revelations, to be more explicit against this parent sin. in the Sacred Oracles. And it is this child of perdition which seeks that you, a freeman, shall extend it, or at least wink at its growing influence, and rapid strides toward the shores of the Pacific Ocean! You will teach it another, and a very salutary lesson, by your vote, at the approaching election.

It is at war with the GRANT OF THE EARTH *given by Jehovah to the children of men.* Consult here, as evidence of this, Gen. i, 26–30, which my limits will not allow me to transcribe into this communication. You will clearly perceive from this, that the

grant was made by the Possessor of heaven and earth, not to a *class* or *caste*, but to *Man, as man;* which generic term includes the whole human race. Earth was given to MAN, and not to doulocrats or despots, as the place of his abode; as the empire over which he exercises his nobler powers, in the government of the inferior creatures; and as the theatre of his action, where he sows to reap, both now and forever, according as he occupies his talents, and meets his responsibilities. This grant, however, necessarily presupposes, as well as its acceptance, and the exercise of the rights which it confers, on the part of the recipient, that he is not a SLAVE, but a FREEMAN, having the entire control of his own movements, under responsibility to God, and in conformity with the requisitions of wholesome law. All this slavery reverses. The doulocrats would take possession of our territories, with their long and black retinue of human chattels! They presume to ask our free Republic to aid, or at least to let them alone, in doing this! For this they solicit your vote. This is the very point now to be decided by you, as far as your act can go. Keep it distinctly before you, and separate from it all extraneous and minor questions. You will then fire your Republican bullet, the ballot, against the extension of "the accursed thing," and in favor of FREE SOIL.

It is at war with the LAW OF JUSTICE OR RIGHTEOUSNESS. This requires that we should "render to every man his due." It is, you are persuaded, I trust, perpetually binding upon all men and communities. By it all are commanded, under the sanction of the blessing or the curse of the Almighty, to do nothing but what is right to the person—the property—the character—the reputation—and the prosperity and happiness of their fellow-man. But this law slavery entirely subverts. It robs the slave of himself—of his property; for it takes himself, and his time, and his labors, without his consent, and without any proper equivalent—of his character; for it sinks him to a level with the beasts of the field, or any other property of the slaveholder—of his reputation; for he is affirmed to be so inferior as that he deserves no better treatment, and is prone to esteem himself, and to be taken by others, as being no more worthy than the law of the State pronounces him to be—and of all his prosperity and his manly happiness. And shall this "vine of Sodom" be planted, with your consent, under the ægis of the Republic, in California and New Mexico? The fact that you are a freeman, and worthy of the proud distinction and title, furnishes an ample guarantee that you will not; but, on the contrary, unhesitatingly rebuke, by your vote, the candidate who is favorable or indifferent to the extension of the area of doulocracy.

It is at war with the LAW OF BENEVOLENCE. This law is, that we shall love our neighbor as ourselves. On this commandment,

with that requiring supreme love to God, we are assured by the best of expositors, Jesus Christ himself, "hang all the law and the prophets." And the apostle Paul reasons that, because "love worketh no ill to his neighbor; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law." Now, how stands slavery in the light of this law of God, whether as it respects the person, the property, the character, the reputation, or the interests of the poor slave? Alas, the scene of moral turpitude and heartless villainy which here rises up, is most loathsome, shocking and heart-rending! How has such a system withstood the influence of civilization, liberty and Christianity, so long? Can it be that even doulocrats would desire that this, which they know to be such a dreadful evil, should be extended to the waters of the Pacific, or over another foot of the free soil of God's green earth, by the direct influence, or the connivance of our government? You will vote, my dear sir, so that this thing which, like the Devil, cannot love, shall not at least be propagated by your influence; and that any candidate who is either neutral or friendly toward it, shall have leave to stay at home, and not be allowed to occupy and dishonor "the White House."

It is at war with the LAW OF RECIPROCITY. That law is as follows: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." Comment here is unnecessary. It is obvious that slavery, either in whole or in part, can never even apparently be reconciled with this law. Would the slaveholder or his apologist be willing that his slaves should do to his reputation, character, property, person, or welfare and happiness, even as he does to them? "This is wickedness." And shall we, by our apathy or our action, extend such an immoral relation, and such an unnatural and accursed state of society over the territories of the Republic? Her free children will come up at this crisis to her rescue, and by their use of the Elective Franchise, at the coming election, prevent such a perversion of her principles and her powers; and do much to terminate her inconsistency, and to wipe away her reproach among the nations.

It is at war with the LAW OF HOLINESS, *in general; but especially, with the* INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE, *which is to be between one man and one woman, who have a right thus to dispose of themselves, and to continue for life, except in cases of notorious infidelity, or such wilfull desertion as admits not of a remedy; and even then a divorce can only take place by the intervention of the competent public authority: in opposition to all polygamy, concubinage and uncleanness.*

What has been already advanced in these pages, is sufficient to show that this is a most unholy system and practice. Upon this I need not, therefore, now directly insist. A sense of delicacy and

propriety, too, forbids that I should here enter into a particular exposure of the licentiousness of slavery. To him who has travelled through the Slave States of our Union, the copious "mixture of colors" which he everywhere meets, furnishes such convincing and melancholy proof of this as could not be supplied by volumes. Suffice it to say,—and this is what I ask you particularly and attentively to consider,—that there is not, neither can there be, any marriage among the slaves, according to the law of God. By the law of Slave States, they are not persons who may contract marriage, but only chattels, the property of their masters. No regular civil or ecclesiastical officer either could or would unite them in marriage. They elect 'squires of their own number to perform the ceremony, which is but a mockery of the Divine Ordinance. Then the cruel and wanton separations of those who are so united, and of parents and children! And yet their number has increased, since the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, from 60.000 to 3,000,000 and upwards! What infernal pollution does all this infer! How often have the heart-strings of affection been torn up and rent assunder, of those sable children of Africa, during this rapid increase! And that the slaves have warm and spirited hearts most poignantly to feel the separation of their families, the fact that, in the city of Covington, Ky., this very season, a male and a female slave, with their children, being on their way from Virginia, under the whip of the slave-driver, to a more Southern market, where they would sell better, formed the desperate resolution, rather than be separated, to kill their children, and then to murder themselves, which they well-nigh accomplished, abundantly demonstrates. This system and traffic cannot be Christianized, nor made compatible with liberty. Attempts so to exhibit it, only succeed in "making vice pleasing, and damnation shine." It is high time that this mother of all abominations were arrested and rebuked. The South, as if by infatuation, has pressed the present issue upon us, and the freemen of the North will meet the great question, while adhering to all the compromises of the Constitution, in such a manner as to settle it in favor of freedom forever. Let your vote be only for those who have boldly declared themselves leaders to this result, and this glorious victory. NO MORE SLAVE STATES; NO MORE SLAVE EXTENSION! But look again, for a moment, at

THE INJURIOUSNESS OF SLAVERY.

This is in direct proportion to its sinfulness. "The wages of sin is death." The violation of the law of God most seriously injures all who are guilty of it, or who are affected by it, whether they be individuals or communities. Slavery is sinful, and therefore it is a curse. Here I might stop, but it may be well enough to consider the subject a little more in detail.

Slavery is injurious to the INDIVIDUAL, *whether he be master or slave, who is unhappily a party to it.* 1. To the soul; by cherishing evil passions, on the one hand; and by preventing proper intellectual development and spiritual culture, on the other, in the case of the master: and by almost entirely sinking and annihilating the man, in the case of the slave, so that he seems nearly a walking caricature of humanity. 2. To the body; by cherishing indolence, dependence, luxury and effeminacy, in the master; and by laziness, carelessness, apathy, filthiness, want of responsibility, and cruel treatment, in the case of the slave; as well as by the effects of the badly educated soul upon both; so as that the latter, in his lowest states, exhibits but a sorry and painful specimen of "the creature looking upwards," or of "the human face Divine." 3. To the usefulness and the happiness of both. This results from the relation itself, and from all its attributes and accidents. 4. To the outward estate of both. This also grows out of the relation, and its circumstances. Unlawful possessions are not riches. The slaveholder is the worse for his slaves. A sound political economy discards the unblessed relation and commerce as a means of wealth, and brands it as a cause of poverty. As for the slave, work as he may, and live as long as he may, he never has any thing! He does not even own himself, nor his wife, nor his children! Why then should doulocrats ask our government, to extend such a withering evil to every interest of individual man? You, sir, will not be a party to such iniquity; but, by your vote, at once rebuke its perpetrators and their parasites.

It is injurious to SOCIETY. And here I ask you, 1. To examine and reflect seriously upon its unnaturalness, and the injury which it thus inflicts upon the social state, where it exists. Does it not put everything, more or less, into a false position? What is the great disturbing, counteracting and dividing influence in our country and government at the present day, and for a series of years past? Is it not slavery? 2. Its caste. How inconsistent with the true democratic idea of a model for the desirable state of society over the world; and with the simplicity of our free institutions, and domestic and social habits! Both the master who is fanned, and the slave who fans him are thereby degraded. Caste always injures society, but especially in a country like ours. 3. Its false relations, and the undue elevation of one class, and depression of the other. That these features prominently belong to it, cannot be doubted. And it is equally clear that they injure every department of society. Surely such a hideous system has already spread far enough on our continent. Let "NO FARTHER"! be the watchword in the camp of freemen. 4. The obstacles which it presents to social progress. These are not accidental, but natural and essential to it. This, were it necessary, might be demonstrated. But you have only to compare the Slave

States with the Free States of our Confederacy, in order to be satisfied upon this point.* And I feel satisfied that, when the election arrives, you, my dear sir, will deposit your ballot in favor of the avowed and acknowledged standard-bearers of the friends of individual and social man. For this, you have a glorious opportunity.

It is injurious to HUMAN INDUSTRY. You will be satisfied of this, if you duly ponder the following facts: 1. It makes labor in a lawful calling, disreputable and unprofitable to those who are not bondmen; and makes comparisons humiliating to the free white laborer, between him and the slave.† This is most

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* The following facts in the census of the United States will illustrate this, as well as the repulsion of the free white laborer, by slavery, from settling within its boundaries: In 1790, the free white population of the States of Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, was 1,160,915. In the same States in 1840, it was 2,200,231. Thus it appears that the increase in fifty years was 1,050,219, or less than double. In 1784, the North-Western Territory was ceded by Virginia. Its freedom from slavery was forever secured by the ordinance of 1787. In 1790, it contained only a very few inhabitants; and in 1840, the States which have been formed out of it, viz.: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, had a population of 2,895,383. These facts speak volumes. They are also a good index of the comparative prosperity of the Free and Slave States, in all other respects.

† The colonial history of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and the other colonies, in 1774 and 1775, &c., abundantly demonstrates the degradation to which slavery subjects the free laborer, as well as his exclusion by it from places where it exists. At that time a general protest was entered against it, as "a social, moral and political evil," not only by the people in their popular assemblies, but by their legislative enactments. In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson, the writer, says: "He (the King of Great Britain) has prostituted his prerogative for suppressing any legislative attempt to restrain this execrable traffic." And in the "American Archives," volume I., page 493, 4th series, the following extract is found:

"June, 1774.—At a general meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of Prince George's County, Virginia, the following resolves were unanimously agreed to among others:

"Resolved, That the African trade is injurious to this colony, obstructs the population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturers and other useful emigrants from Europe from settling amongst us, and occasions an annual increase of the balance of trade against this colony."

Again, on page 606, is an account of a public meeting held at the court-house in the town of Alexandria, County of Fairfax, Virginia, July 18, 1774, over which GEORGE WASHINGTON presided, by which these resolutions were adopted, viz.:

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that, during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies on this continent; and we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, cruel and unnatural trade.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that a solemn covenant and agreement should be entered into by all the colonies," &c., &c.

And in the same volume we find the following resolutions, pages 593 and 523, &c., of other similar meetings in Virginia:

"July 16, 1774, Surry county, Virginia:

"Resolved, That as the population of this colony, with freemen and useful manufacturers, is greatly obstructed by the importation of slaves and convict servants, we will not purchase any such slaves or servants hereafter to be imported."

"At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Culpepper, in Virginia, assembled on due notice, at the court-house of the said county, on

paralysing to honest industry, and debasing to the individual and to the State. 2. It makes the master too proud to labor, and thus renders him comparatively useless to himself, and to society. 3. It renders the slave unskillful, listless, feeble, indolent, leasing, truculent and perfidious. For he feels that he is wronged, without any hope of being righted; and that he has no interest in his labors, but that the proceeds must go to pamper and enrich the man who has robbed him of his liberty. 4. It thus cuts the sinews of energy and enterprize. Of this the States where it exists contain the amplest, but no gratifying, evidence. And I am sure, sir, you will do all you can to keep an evil of such collossal magnitude, at least within its present boundaries. Remember, your chief influence lies in your vote.

It is injurious to SOUND MORALITY. This may easily be gathered from what has already been stated. It is not improper, however, to give it, in passing, a distinct consideration. And this is one of the weightiest charges which can be brought against it. It goes far, practically, to efface the Decalogue. The slaveholder usurps the place of God, in claiming and exercising the right of *property in man.* The slave is his obsequious and hypocritical follower and imitator, even apart from any coercion which he may employ. Look at this point in the light of the first table; and then with regard to the second, it is not hard to perceive that it virtually obliterates each of its precepts. It is one system of irreligion and immorality throughout. As we pity the parties to it, and the soil that is defiled by it, let us be sure that we employ our influence to prevent its farther extension. To the man who is favorable or indifferent to this, you, my friend, cannot, without sin, give your vote.

It is injurious to RELIGION AND THE CHURCH. It renders the moral soil very stony, weedy and barren, as well as "turns," in a literal sense, "fat land to barrenness." It darkens the understandings, and hardens and corrupts the hearts, of both master and slave. It defiles and sears the conscience. By it the will is made perverse and obstinate. It renders the judgment unsound. Light and education find in it a most formida-

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Thursday, the 7th day of July, 1774, to consider of the most effectual method to preserve the rights and liberties of America:

"Resolved, That the importing of slaves and convict servants is injurious to this colony, as it obstructs the population of it with freemen and useful manufacturers; and that we will not buy any such slave or convict servant hereafter to be imported."

How, then, can any working man, or any other, in this enlightened age, be favorable to the extension of this blight upon population and industry, by the action or the permission of the General Government, to any portion of our territories; or vote for any candidate for office, as the question is now stated, although he were an "angel from heaven," who is not unequivocally pledged against it?

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